181 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the
178 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of
that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim
[421] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on
[562] what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk,
who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre-
[423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one
[628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with
554 the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud,
[464] which was once the dominant political institution of the society,
were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the
old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his
[464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until
1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons
in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration,
while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Govern-
669 ment in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army
in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic in-
dication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apart-
ness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant
to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself
was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And
these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's
621 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life
671 among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

621
671 example, the ganuns of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
Lineage Pact of Thazurakhth (all in LR) clearly show. And that such
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621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's
truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, es-
pecially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights
of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which
three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, tradi-
tionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (LR, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the liff system of alliances often, in the Rif, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of liffs per se was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of diya or bloodwealth with the concept of haqq, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family 596 branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

000 urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).